

1093 (2). 22 B 11 2
A. Flexman

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Third Volume
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
GILBERT, Lord Bishop of Sarum.

Burnet

*Hoc laboris pretium petam, uti me à conspectu malorum,
quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certè dum
prisca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam; omnis expers
curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere à vero,
solicitem tamen efficere possit.* Livii Hist. Lib. 1.

L O N D O N :

Printed for John Churchill, at the Black-
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row. 1714.

o
p
y
V
pa
yo
bo
N
co
per
N

Mr. CHURCHILL,

YOUR care in putting
many Advertisements in the
Gazettes, has been of very
great Use to me; but because
I would gladly have the History of
our Reformation to be as full and
perfect as may be, I do now send
you the Introduction to the Third
Volume, that is almost ready to be
put in the Press; which I desire
you to print in a smaller Form
hoping it will give such public
Notice of my Design, that it may
come into the Hands of those, who
perhaps look not into the Advertisements

ments in Gazettes, and so may
move them that can furnish me with
other Materials, to help me to
finish this WORK with great
Advantage, for which I am ready
to make them all the Returns that
are in my Power. I desire you
will prefix to this a Passage out
of Livy, which does so perfectly
agree with my present Thoughts,
that I cannot express them better
or more truly than those Words
to :

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

G. SARUM

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Third Volume
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION, &c.

I come after a long Interval, of
Three and Thirty Years, to give
all the Finishing to the History of
Our REFORMATION that I
have been able to collect; either from
New Discoveries that have come in my
own

own way, or the kind Advertisements of Friends, and the severe Animadversions of Criticks ; of which I have endeavour'd to make the best Use that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in Hast, and did not reflect enough on the Matters I wrote about. That may be very true ; and I will give an account how it happened to be so. When *Sanders's* History was published in *France*, it had so ill an Effect there, that some of our best Divines were often called on to hasten such an Answer to it, as might stop the Course of so virulent a Book : Those to whom these Advices were sent, thought me a proper Person to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious Bilshop of *Worcester*, is the only Person now alive, that was concerned in the Choice, and he having read all the printed Books that he could hear of relating to those times, had taken the Dates of every remarkable thing that passed, out of them, which he caused to be copyed out for me ; they are about eight Sheets of Paper. Upon this Stock I set out, and searched all the publick Offices about the Town, with a Labour and Diligence that

was

was then look'd on as no contemptible Performance. I mark'd every thing as exactly as I could. I might in such a Variety, make some Mistakes, for which Men of Candour will make just Allowances. But when I had gone thro' all that lay thus open to me, I knew what Treasures were still in the *Cotton Library*.

The present Bishop of *Worcester* carried me to Sir *John Cotton* to ask admittance; but a great Prelate had been before hand with us, and had possess'd him with such Prejudices against me, as being no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, nor to the Constitution of our Church, that he said, as he was prepared, That unless the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and a Secretary of State would recommend me, as a Person fit to have access to his Library, he desir'd to be excus'd: And tho' that worthy Prelate said he would be answerable for the Use that I should make of it; yet he could not be prevail'd on to depart from the Answer that he had made us. Nor could that Reverend Person prevail with Archbishop *Sancroft* to interpose: And tho' I offer'd to deliver up all the Collections

lections I had made, to any Person that would undertake the Work, yet no Regard was had to that : So I saw it was resolv'd on, either not to let that Work go on, or at least that I should not have the Honour to be employ'd in it.

With this we were at a full Stop, when accidentally meeting with Sir *John Marsham* the Younger, I told him how I was deny'd Access to the *Cotton Library* : But he told me he was by Marriage a Nephew to the Family, and that for many Years he had free access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleas'd : So I with a Copier went thither under his Protection ; and we were hard at Work from Morning to Night for Ten Days ; but then the Owner with his Family coming to Town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haste we were in, I did make such a Progress, that the good Bishop, together with the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Tillotson*, and the late Bishop of *Worcester*, *Stillington*, thought I was sufficiently furnish'd with Materials for composing the first Volume. Every Part of it as I wrote it, pass'd thro' their Hands, and under
their

I
 c
 w
 t
 t
 w
 re
 na
 du
 la
 wi
 qu
 An
 Li
 gin
 from
 ind
 Lar
 a se
 not
 reco
 serv
 wrot
 to c
 with

their Censure, and I submitted to their Judgment in every particular.

I have been told one that was much practised in that Library, who is now dead, has censured me for not comparing, what my Copier wrote, carefully with the Originals ; to this all I can say is, that, as my Copier by much Practice was become pretty exact ; so I made him read all over to me, having the Originals in my Hands. I cannot say in such dull, tho' necessary Work, as the Collating those Things, I carried along with me all the Attention that was requisite ; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the *Cotton* Library, I read over several of the Originals, but found no material Differences from the Copies I had printed. One indeed runst thro' all those in the *English* Language, which might perhaps offend a severe Critick, that the old Spelling is not every where exactly Copied. I did recommend it to my Copier, and he observ'd it often ; but he said when he wrote quick, it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated Spelling along with his Pen.

The first Volume lay a Year after I wrote it, before it was put in the Press, and was offer'd to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that trouble. When it was brought to Secretary *Coventry* for his Licence, he was pleased to say that he dipped into it out of Curiosity, but added that he found such an Entertainment in it, that he could not part with it till he had read it quite through. The Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Chancellor, took time to read and examine it, and to add many Remarks in several parts of it, in all which I submitted to his Censure: And some smaller Matters coming in my way, they were added; so when those under whose Direction I made every Step in it, advised me to put it in the Press, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few Months after the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*; and the Ferment of that working powerfully over all the Nation, the Work was favourably received, and as I had the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament for it, with a Desire to finish what I had begun; so those who were the most Zealous against Popery, pressed me to make all

all possible hast with the 2^d Volume, when they understood that I had made considerable Discoveries with Relation to Queen *Mary's* Reign. By that time Sir *John Cotton* seeing the good Use I had made of his Library, was pleased to acknowledge the Injustice of the Suggestions that had been made to my Prejudice, and allowed me free Liberty to examine every thing in it ; in which I ought to have been more exact than I was, in searching into the Matters set forth in my first Volume, but the repeated Importunities of my Friends for my Publishing the Second Volume so far prevail'd, that I only examined what belonged to that Period. I took indeed some Papers relating to the former Reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other Materials brought me from several Hands ; upon the publick Notice that I gave of my Design in the First Volume.

That Primitive Bishop *Fell*, of *Oxford*, engaged an Acquaintance of his, Mr. *Fulman*, to make Remarks on it, which he did with a particular Acrimony of Stile ; for which the Bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was Material, and sent it to him

to see if he did not find in it the Substance of all his Remarks on the First, at the End of the Second Volume. It has been publish'd over and over again, that he complain'd, that I did not print a full Account of his Censure. The Fact was thus, I sent it to him by the Carrier, and beg'd of him, that if he had any Exception to the Abstract I had made of his Remarks, he would return it back to me, as soon as was possible; for the Press was to be stop'd till it came. I stay'd for it till the second Return of the Carrier; and when no Answer came, I reckon'd he acquiesced in my Abstract, so I put it in the Press: But before it was printed off, his Answer came by the third Return of the Carrier; and I, finding that he excepted to some few Parts of my Paper, was at the Charge of Reprinting it exactly to his Mind; and he afterwards received the Present that I made him without any Insinuation of any Complaint.

Thus this Work was sent abroad into the World; nor do I yet see what more I could have done to procure me better Information, nor what other steps I could have made. It took quiet Possession of the

f
n
n
i
c
w
b
b
m
E
w
g
h
m
a
M
g
h
n
o
f
h
t
w
G
f

the Belief of the Nation at Home, and of a great Part of *Europe* abroad, being Translated into four Languages; and for some Years I heard of neither Censure nor Answer.

When I went to *Paris* in the Year 1685, I found there was a Censure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my Hands, and I presently wrote an Answer to it, which I got to be put into *French*; and all who read both Papers, seem'd fully satisfy'd with my Answer, which will be found at the End of this Volume. I was told that it was writ by Mr *Le Grand*, who had given out in many Companies that he had great Objections ready to be made to my History. Upon that two learned and worthy Men, Mr *Auzont* and Mr *Thevenot*, designed to bring us together, and to hear what Mr *Le Grand* had to object; we din'd at Mr *Thevenot's*; and after Dinner, for the space of three Hours, Mr *Le Grand* propos'd his Objections, and I answer'd them on the sudden, far from Charming them with my Eloquence, which Mr *Le Grand* must certainly mean as a Jest, for I pretend to no more *French*, than

to

to be understood when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling, and yet it was so fully answered by me, that we parted civilly, and as I thought, good Friends, and when he was gone, both *Thevenot* and *Auzont* said they were ashamed to hear such poor Things objected (*pauvretes*) was their Word) after the Noise that Mr *Le Grand* had made : But two Days after Mr *Auzont* came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. *Thevenot*'s, and desired me not to speak of that Matter to any Person: The Court was then so set on extirpating Heresie, that they apprehended any thing said by me, might bring me into Trouble; they would do me Justice, so I needed not be concern'd to do it to myself.

I must also add, that Mr *Le Grand* said, after he had offer'd his Objections, that as to the main of my History, he could furnish me with many Materials to support it ; and he made me a Present of a very Valuable Book, published by *Comusat* at *Troyes*, 1613, with the Title of *Melanges Historiques*, of which I shall have occasion to make good use in the following Work. The Matter rested thus till the Year 1688, that Mr *Le Grand*

Grand published the *History of King Henry VIII's Divorce*, and soon after that, two other Volumes of his appeared: One was a severe Invektive against me and my History, the other was a Collection of Letters by which his History was justified: In this last, there are some very Valuable Ones, to which I shall have occasion oftener than once to refer my Reader. In the two first of these Tomes, Mr *Le Grand* thought fit to lay aside all sort of good Manners; and to treat me more in the Stile of an angry Monk, than of one that had lived long in the Company of well-bred Men. I imputed this to a Management he was under by some of the Court of that unfortunate Prince, who soon after felt the Tragical Effects of such unhappy Counsellors, as had then the Ascendant: To these I did believe Mr *Le Grand* had dedicated his Pen, and that drew from me a severe Postscript to a Censure that I published upon the Bishop of *Meaux's* Book of Variations, for which I am heartily sorry, and ask his Pardon.

The Truth is, the first Paper in his third Tome, seemed to justify any thing that could have been said, to expose a
Man

Man that could offer such an Abstract as he gave of it in his History, and them that judged so ill as to think fit to print that Letter, that does plainly contradict the Sense he gave of it. The Letter is writ by *Pace*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to King *Henry*, in the Year 1526, on the Subject of the Divorce. He owns that he writ the Book, which had been brought to the King the Day before, by the Advice and Assistance of *Dr. Wakfeld*, who was ready to defend it all, either in Writing or in a publick Disputation:

“ * And since he heard from the King,
 “ that some of his learned Counsellors
 “ wrote, that *Deuteronomy* abrogated
 “ *Leviticus*, he shews him how false that
 “ was. It was only a Recapitulation of
 “ the *Mosaick* Law; it seems they
 “ thought this was the Importance of the
 “ Greek Word *Deuteronomy*, (or a Se-
 “ cond

* Et quoniam Majestas tua mihi significavit nescio quos è suis literatis consiliariis scripisse Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquisivi quid id sibi vellet; & tandem inveni id indubitato falsum esse: Est compendium ac repetitio seu ut ita dicam Recapitulatio legis Mosaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad sensum rei attinet illud, idem significat quod habetur in Hebræo, id est liber

liber
 leg
 feld
 tibi
 an c
 alie
 præ
 rum
 Tun
 facer
 ret;
 contr
 regne

“ cond Law) but he shews that it im-
 “ ported only a Repetition of the former
 “ Law, and the Book had another Title
 “ in the *Hebrew*. Then he says that
 “ *Wakfeld* desired him to let him know
 “ whether the King had a Mind to know
 “ the Truth in that Matter, whether it
 “ stood for him or against him: To this
 “ *Pace* answer’d, That the King desired
 “ nothing but what became a Noble and
 “ a Vertuous Prince, and that he would
 “ do a most acceptable Thing to him,
 “ if he would take pains to let him know
 “ what was the pure Verity: Then he
 “ being under some fear, said he could
 “ not set about it, unless his Majesty
 “ would enjoin and command it; but
 “ when he received his Commands, he
 “ would set forth such Things both a-

liber in quo continetur secunda lex vel repetitio primæ
 legis; post meum à Majestate tua discessum *DR Wakfeldus*
 unice me rogavit ut sibi significarem an placeret
 tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum staret à te
 an contra te? Ei ita respondi, te nihil velle quod esset
 alienum à nobili Principe & singularibus Virtutibus
 prædito; Illum Majestati tuæ rem gratissimam factu-
 rum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declararet.
 Tum ille nescio quo ductus timore negavit se hoc posse
 facere, nisi Majestas tua id sibi injungeret & manda-
 ret; & si mandares se producturum in medium tam
 contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo
 regno producere posset.

“ gainst him and for him, as no other
 “ Person within his Kingdom could do.”
 There is nothing here but what is Honourable both for the King, for *Pace*, and for *Wakfeld*.

Mr *Le Grand* has made a very particular Abstract of this ; he says, “ † *Pace*
 “ designing to flatter his Prince’s Passion,
 “ thought they should not stand either
 “ on the Vulgar or the 70 Translators,
 “ but have recourse only to the *Hebrew*,
 “ which he maintained was more favourable to the King. He had written
 “ to *Wakfeld*, and shewed him the
 “ trouble the King was in, and desired
 “ he would clear up the Matter ; *Wakfeld*
 “ *Wakfeld* ravished to be thus employ’d, said
 “ he would justifie all that *Pace* had said
 “ to the King ; but then apprehending
 that

† Nos avons la lettre de ce dernier (*Pace*) qui cherchant à flatter la Passion de son Prince, vouloit que sans s’arreter ni à la Vulgate ni à la Traduction des septante, on eut recours au texte *Hebrew* ; qu’il soutenoit luy estre plus favorable. Il’en ecrivit à *Robert Wakefeld*, & luy decouvrit l’embarras ou le Roy se trouvoit, le priant de lui vouloir éclaircir cette matiere. *Wakefeld* ravý de travailler pour le Roy, répondit d’abord, qu’il appueroit ce que *Pace* avoit dit à *Henry*. Puis faisant reflexion que *Pace* pouvoit le tromper

tromper
 chang
 moign
 elle m
 defenc
 dres q
 pour o
 Anglo
 nité qu

" that *Pace* might deceive him, or be
 " deceived himself ; or perhaps that the
 " King might change his Mind, he de-
 " fired that the King himself would let
 " him know what he would have him to
 " do, whether he should defend the one
 " side or the other ; and he would do
 " according to the Orders he should re-
 " ceive, and make such Discoveries for
 " or against it as should pass the Capacity
 " of all *English-Men*. Thus (ends he)
 " *Wakfeld*, who had more Vanity than
 " Religion, was driving a Traffick with
 " his Sentiments.

I have put on the Margin the *Latin* of
Pace's Letters, and the account that Mr
Le Grand gives of it in *French*, that
 the Reader may judge what can be
 thought of a Man that represents Things
 so unfairly, and makes such Inferences

tromper ou se tromper lui meme, ou que le Roy
 changeroit peut estre, Il alla trouver *Pace*, & lui te-
 moignoit, qu'il souhaitoit que sa Majesté lui ecrivit
 elle meme, ce qu'elle Vouloit qu'il fit, & si il devoit
 defendre le pour ou le contre, & qu' alors selon les or-
 dres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des eclaircissements ou
 pour ou contre, qui passeroient le capacité de tous les
 Anglois. C'est ainsi que *Wakfeld*, qui avoit plus de Va-
 nité que de Religion, trafiquoit de ses sentimens.

from them. I confess this raised in me too much Indignation to be governed as it ought to have been : I therefore thought such a Writer deserved not to be followed in every Step. I likewise employ'd at several times, some who went to *Paris*, to try in what Esteem that Performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the Accounts sent me from thence, the Book had lost the Esteem of all Persons there, so that it was no more talked of nor read. I cannot therefore bring myself to examine it minutely, yet where any Matter of Weight requires it, I shall either justify or retract what I had delivered in my History. I shall say no more of that Work in this place, save only that the Original Judgment of the *Sorbonne*, about which Mr *Le Grand* seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the Conference I had with him, and in his Book, is now found by Mr. *Rymer*, among the other Judgments of the Universities in the secret Treasury, out of which that laborious Searcher into our Original Treaties, has already publish'd 15 great Volumes in Folio : Of this I shall give a more particular Account in its proper place.

The next Attack that was made on my Work, was in the Year 1693, under the Title of a *Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*; by *Anthony Harmer*. It is well known that was a disguised Name, and that the Author was Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who had published Two Volumes with the Title of *Anglia Sacra*: He had examined the dark Ages before the Reformation, with much Diligence, and so knew many Things relating to those Times, beyond any Man of the Age; he pretended that he had many more Errors in reserve, and that this Specimen was only a hasty Collection of a few, out of many other Discoveries he could make: This consisted of some trifling and minute Differences in some Dates of Transactions of no Importance, upon which nothing depended; so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed Books, or if I committed any Errors in my Notes taken in the several Offices. He likewise follows me through the several Recapitulations I had made of the State of Things before the Reformation, and finds Errors and Omissions in most of these; he adds some things out of Papers I had never seen.

seen. The whole was writ with so much Malice, and such Contempt, that I must give some Account of the Man and of his Motives. He had express'd great Zeal against Popery, in the End of King *James's* Reign, being then Chaplain to Arch-Bishop *Sancroft*, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those Prebends of *Canterbury* that should fall in his Gift; so when he saw that the Arch-bishop was resolved not to take the Oaths, but to forsake his Post, he made an earnest Application to me, to secure that for him at Arch-Bishop *Tillotson's* Hands: I pressed it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring Men, by promising any thing before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his Time. *Wharton* upon this Answer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil Denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that *Specimen*. Upon which I, in a Letter that I printed, addressed to the present Bishop of *Worcester*, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time; for till that was done, I would not enter upon the Examination of that *Specimen*. It was

was received with Contempt ; and *Tillotson* justified my pressing him to take *Wharton* under his particular Protection so fully, that he sent and asked me Pardon : He said he was set on to it, and that, if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover every thing to me : I despis'd that Offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those Discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve ; but Mr. *Chiswell* (at whose House he then lay, being sick,) said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing ; he died about a Year after : So I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a Voucher for any thing that he objects, I will submit and own my Error, but I have no Reason to take any thing on his Word. I have a Work lying on my Table, which shews how little regard is due to his Collections. It was sent me by a worthy Person in one of the Universities, and is a Collating of ten Pages of his *Anglia Sacra*, with the Manuscript that he vouches : It swells indeed to a Book. *Wharton* omits the most material Passage of an Instrument that blemished one of his Heroes. In some places there are Errors in every Line, and there are three Capital Errors

Errors in one Line, and about 50 in that small compass ; I have shewed the Book to a great many Persons, and will shew it to any who desire to see it, but do not descend here to further Particulars, for that perhaps might discover the Author, and expose him to the Malice of an ill-natur'd Cabal. Since that time, a Writer of a greater Name, has with abundance of ill-natur'd Scorn, pretended to under-value my Work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the Remembrance of such Things to Posterity. Where he gives such Vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract ; but when he appeals to some nameless Manuscript in his own Possession, I will have no regard to this ; for a Writer that has been found too faulty in citing such Vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect Belief, when he has recourse to such as are kept by him as Secrets, not to be communicated but to a few Confidants, nor entirely to these, as I have been informed: All that has been hitherto objected to me, tho' with Airs of great Assurance and Scorn, has been so trifling, that some good Judges have thought I shewed them too much Respect to take any notice of them: They thought it was
enough

enough to mark down such small Mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such Reflections: I would have complied with their Advice, if I had not a just Zeal to maintain the Credit of that Work ; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the Discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest Matters, tho' with all the Indecency and Contempt possible.

A very worthy Person in one of the Universities, has sent me a copious Collection of Remarks on both my former Volumes, but upon Condition not to name him ; which I will observe Religiously, because I promised it ; tho' it is not easie to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an Obligation ; but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me : I have had Assistance from some other Hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper Places.

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offer'd to me in a Volume apart, than to reprint my former Volumes, with these Corrections, as some

D

have

have advised me to do. There are some Thousands of the former Impressions abroad in the Nation, that would be of little Value, if any such New Edition should appear. I have ever looked on such New enlarged Editions, as little less than a robbing the Publick; besides that, in so doing, I should only drop those Errors of my former Work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the Publick. I have ever looked on Falshoods in History when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of Lying, both the most publick and the most lasting: But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a Discovery, they are as bad as when done on Design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could, and if in so great a Variety of Materials, some are Spurious, and others appear doubtful, and if in the haste in which the Circumstances of that Time almost forced me to publish that Work, without looking out for more Aid, and without waiting for further Discoveries, there are some inconsiderable Errors and Defects in the less important Parts of my Work, that relate not to the main of Things, I hope
the

the World will be so just and so favourable as to make fair Allowances for them, and to accept all the Reparation I can make for past Errors, when I own my failing, and set my Readers right.

I come next to give an account of the Reasons that moved me to set about this Work at this time. The Reasons of my engaging in it at first seemed now to return upon me ; and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The Danger of a Popish Successor then in view, and the dreadful Apprehensions we had of the Power of *France*, and of the Zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the *Pestilent Heresie that had so long infested these Northern Kingdoms*, was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the Nation, by shewing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was ; by shewing the Cruelty and Falshood of the former, and what the Patience and Courage of our Reformers was ; and the Work had generally so good an Effect then, that if the like Dangers seem to revert, it may not be an improper attempt, to try once more to awaken a Nation, that has perhaps

forgot past Dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any Difference between the present State of things, and that we were in above 30 Year ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our Learning, vitiated in Principle, tainted, some with Atheism, others with Superstition; both which, tho' by different ways, prepare us for Popery. Our old Breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former times, are raised and fomented with much Industry, and great Art, as well as much Heat: Many are barefacedly going back to that Misery, from which God with such a mighty hand rescued us; and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing chain of happy Providences; but *the deaf Adder stops her ear, let the Charmer charm ever so wisely.*

All Books relating to those Controversies lie dead in Shops, few calling for them; many of them, as Men of the Trade have told me, being looked on as wast Paper, and turned to Past-board. There are after all, some real
and

and sensible Arguments, that may perhaps have some Effect on those, who let not themselves be moved with matters of dry Speculation, or with cold Reasoning : I have made many Discoveries, that may awaken some, on whom the clearest Demonstrations will perhaps make no Impression.

In Queen *Mary's* time, beside all that Scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious Breach of solemn Promises, of the corrupting and packing of Parliaments, and of that unrelenting Cruelty which was pursued to the end of that Reign, without intermission ; I have had occasion to see much further into the Spirit which then prevailed. I have had the Perusal of the Original Council-Book, that went from the beginning of her Reign to the last day of the year 1557. in which such a Spirit of Cruelty and Bigottry appears, thro' the whole course of that Reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless Woman, weak tho' learned, guilty of nothing but what her Religion infused in her, so carried to an Indecence of Barbarity, that it appears that *Bonner* himself was not cruel enough, for her, or at least for her Confessor.

feffor. She believed her felf with Child, and when the time came in which ſhe expected to be delivered, ſhe continued looking for it every day above a Month ; then a Conceit was put in her Head that ſhe could not bear her Child, as long as there was a Heretick left in the Kingdom.

It was a great part of the Buſineſs of the Council to quicken the Perſecution every where ; Letters were writ to the Men of Quality in the ſeveral Counties, to aſſiſt at the Execution of thoſe who ſuffered for Hereſie, and to call on all their Friends to attend on them. Letters of Thanks were writ to ſuch Officious Perſons, as expreſſed their Zeal, ordering them to commit all to Priſon, who came not to the Service, and to keep them in Priſon till the comfort of their Amendment appeared. Directions were given to put ſuch as would not diſcover others to the Torture ; Thanks were in a particular Stile ſent to ſome Gentlemen, who (as it is expreſſed) came ſo *honeſtly and of themſelves to aſſiſt the Sheriffs at thoſe Executions.* Pretences of Conſpiracies were every where under Examination, many were committed and tried for Words ; Let-

ters

ters were writ to Corporations about the Elections of Mayors, and the Lords had many Letters to look carefully to the Elections of Parliament Men, and to engage the Electors to reserve their Voices for such as they should name: Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay Executions, in hopes of reclaiming Persons so condemned; but they were order'd to do so no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the Sheriffs of *Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire*, and to several Mayors, to signifie what had moved them to stay the Execution of such Persons as had been delivered to them by the Ordinaries, being condemned for Heresie. One Letter of a more singular Strain was wrote to the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs of *London*, to give Substantial Orders (I give the Words in the Council-Book)

“ That when any obstinate Man condemned by the Order of the Law, shall be deliver'd to be punish'd for Heresie, there be a good number of Officers and other Men appointed to be at the Execution; who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding or praising the Offenders, or otherwise
“ wise

14 Jan.
1555.

“ wise use themselves to the ill Example
 “ of others, to be apprehended and com-
 “ mitted to Ward; and besides to give
 “ Commandment that no Houſholder
 “ ſuffer any of his Apprentices, or o-
 “ ther Servants to be Abroad, other than
 “ ſuch as their Maſters will answer for,
 “ and that this Order be always obſerv’d
 “ in like Caſes hereafter.” Such pains
 were taken to extinguish all the Impreſſi-
 ons of Humanity, or at leaſt to puniſh
 every Expreſſion of it, and this was ſo
 conſtantly purſued, that three Men and
 two Women were burnt at *Canterbury*
 on the 10th of *November*, a Week before
 her Death, for ſhe died on the 17th.

Cox Hiſt.
 of Ireland.

Nor were they ſatiſfied with all theſe
 Arts of Cruelty in *England*, but hearing
 that there were ſome of that ſort in *Ire-*
land, one *Cole* was ſent over with a Com-
 miſſion to ſet a Perſecution on Foot there:
 When he was at *Cheſter*, the Corpora-
 tion waiting on him, in reſpect to his
 being ſent by the Queen, he ſhewed
 them his Powers and Letters to the Go-
 vernment of *Ireland*, but leaving his Pa-
 pers on the Table, when he went in re-
 ſpect to this Body to conduct them down
 Stairs, the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, being
 ſecretly a Zealous Woman, did with a
 parti-

particular Address, make up a Packet like his, in which she put a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs being turned uppermost ; and so she took away his Papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to *Dublin*, and deliver'd his Message and Packet to the Council there, which was certainly received with Scorn and Indignation. He came back to *London*, and got New Powers, a few days before the Queen's Death ; for the News of it overtook him before he had his Passage. The Levity of this Story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several Books, in which it is said that the Woman had for this Service a Pension from Queen *Elizabeth*. Cox Hi
of Irelan

I have in my former History shewed what Steps were made in that Reign, towards the setting up an Inquisition in *England* ; which was very probably suggested by King *Philip* and some of his *Spaniards*, as the only sure Method to extirpate Heresie ; but I have since seen some further Steps made towards it. *Ratcliffe*, Earl of *Suffex*, was in high favour ; and he, who saw what was the Method to secure and advance it, moved, that, instead of the dilatory Proceedings in the Ordinary Courts, such Offenders

E should

should be proceeded against by Martial
 Law. To this the Council wrote Answer,
 They commended his Zeal, and acknow-
 ledged that such Persons deserved to be so
 used: Yet it was not thought the best way,
 but they were to be punish'd as the Laws
 did order: But when they had had their
 Punishment, he was ordered to keep them
 in Prison and in Irons, till they came to
 know themselves and their Duty. I have
 also found what he did towards the set-
 ting up an Inquisition. I did formerly
 print the Instructions that were sent to
 the County of *Norfolk*. Of these the 6th
 did run thus; " They shall procure to
 " have in every Parish or part of the
 " Shire, as near as may be, some one
 " or more honest Men secretly Instruct-
 " ed, to give Information of the Inhabi-
 " tants amongst or about them." I find
 in a Register of the Earl of *Sussex*, that
 to the 6th Article it is agreed, " That
 " the Justices of the Peace in every of
 " their Limits, shall call secretly before
 " them, one or two honest and Secret
 " Persons, or more by their Discretions,
 " and such as they shall think good, and
 " command them by Oath, or other ways
 " as the same Justices shall think good,
 " that they shall secretly learn and search
 " out such Person or Persons as shall
 evil

“ evil behave themselves idly at Church,
 “ or despise openly by Words the King
 “ and Queen’s Proceedings, or go about
 “ to make or move any Stirre, Commotion,
 “ or unlawful gathering together
 “ of the People, or that shall tell any Seditious
 “ or lewd Tales, Rumours, or
 “ News, to move or stir any Person or
 “ Persons to rise, stir, or make any Commotion
 “ or Insurrection, or to consent
 “ to any such Intent or Purpose, and also
 “ that the same Persons so to be appointed,
 “ shall declare to the same Justices of the Peace,
 “ the ill Behaviour of lewd disorder’d Persons,
 “ whether it shall be for using unlawful Games,
 “ Idleness, and such other light Behaviour of
 “ suspected Persons, as shall be within the
 “ same Town, or near thereabouts ;
 “ and that the same Information shall be given
 “ secretly to the Justices, and the same Justices
 “ shall call such accused Persons before them,
 “ and Examine them without declaring by whom
 “ they be accused ; and that the same Justices
 “ shall upon their Examinations, punish the
 “ Offenders according as their Offences shall
 “ appear to them upon the Accusment and
 “ Examination by their Discretion, either by
 “ open Punishment or good Abering ; ” I do not

understand the Importance of this Word ; Here are sworn Spies appointed, like the Familiars of the Inquisition, secret Depositions not to be discovered, and upon these further Proceedings are order'd : If this had been well settled, what remained to compleat a Court of Inquisition, would have been more easily carried.

Here is that, which those who look towards a Popish Successor must look for, when that Evil Day comes. All this will make little Impression on those, who have no fixed Belief of any thing in Religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small Matter to be of any Religion that comes to have the Law and the Government on it's Side, and resolve to change with every Wind and Tide, rather than put any thing to hazard by struggling against it : Yet some Compassion to those, who have a more firm Belief of those great Truths, might be expected from Men of the same Country, Kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same Religion. The reviving the Fires in *Smithfield*, and from thence over the whole Nation, has no amiable View to make any hast to it ; and least of all to those, who, if they have any Principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out of their Livings, or
forced

forced to abandon their Families, and, upon every Surmize or Suspicion, to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the Paw of the Lion, into Parts beyond the Seas, and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty Contempt, with which too many have treated Foreigners who took Sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal Revolution comes upon us, if God for our Sins abandons us into the Hands of treacherous and bloody Men, whither can we hope to fly? For with us the whole Reformation must fall under such an universal Ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet since that Set of Men is so impiously corrupted in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it, as may be assigned them; There are other Considerations of another sort, arising from some Papers put in my Hands since I wrote the History, that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible Part.

It is well known, how great and how valuable a part of the whole Soil of *England*, the Abbey-Lands, the Estates of the Bishops,

of the Cathedrals, and the Tythes are. I will not enter into any strict computation of what the whole may amount to. The Resumption of these would be no easie Matter to many Families: And yet all these must be thrown up; for Sacrilege in the Church of *Rome* is a Mortal Sin; and therefore Cardinal *Poole*, even in that pretended Confirmation of the Grants that were then made, laid a heavy Charge on those who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on *Belsazzar*, for profaning the Holy Vessels, tho' they had not been taken by himself but by his Father. It is true this may be supposed to relate only to Church Plate; tho' there is no Reason to restrain such a solemn Charge to so inconsiderable a part of what had been taken from the Church, no Doubt he had the whole in his View; and this shewed, that tho' he seemed to secure them from any Claim that the Church might have, or any Sute or Proceeding upon that account; yet he left the Weight of the Sin on their Consciences; which a dextrous Confessor might manage so, as to make the Possessors yield up their Rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer. The thing was still a Sin, and the Possessi-

on was unjust ; and to make it easie, to restore in the last Minutes, the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed for 20 Years, in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost : Besides that, the engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases, was a thing entirely in their own Power, and that in 40 Years time, would raise their Revenues to be about ten times their present Value.

But setting all this aside, it has appeared evidently to me from some Papers sent me, some Years after I wrote my History, that all that Transaction was fraudulent, and had so many Nullities in it, that it may be broke through whensoever there is a Power strong enough to set about it. In the first Powers that are in that Collection, all the Grace and Favour that the Pope intended to the Possessors of those Lands, was to indemnify them for the mean Profits they had received, and for the Goods that had been consumed : *They restoring first (if that shall seem expedient to you) the Lands themselves, that are unjustly detained by them.* This was only the forgiving what was past, but the Right of the Church was insisted on, for the Restitution of those Lands. The Reservation in these Words (*if that shall seem*

seem expedient to you) can be understood in no other Sense, but that it was referred to his Discretion, whether he should insist to have the Restitution first made, before he granted the Indemnity for the mean Profits or not.

It is true the Council in *England*, who were in that supported by the Emperor, thought these Powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in so Artificial a manner, that the whole Settlement made by *Poole* signified nothing, but to lay the Nation once a-sleep, under a false Apprehension of their being secured in those Possessions, when no such thing was intended; nor was it at all granted even by the latest Powers that were sent to Cardinal *Poole*. For in these, after the Pope had referred the settling that matter to him, that he might transact it with such Possessors, for whom the Queen should intercede, and dispense with their enjoying them for the future without any Scruple, a *Salvo* is added, by which the whole Matter is still reserved to the Pope for his final Confirmation, in these Words, *Salvo tamen in his in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem hac sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & prefate sedis beneplacito & confirmatione.*

firmatione. “ Saving always in such things, in which for their Greatness and Importance it shall appear to you, that this Holy See ought in Reason to be consulted, our and the said Sees good Pleasure and Confirmation. By these Words it is very plain, that as in the Powers granted, they seem’d to be limited to a few, to such for whom the QUEEN should intercede, since it is not expressed that the Pope thought that She would intercede for all that possessed them ; so they were only Provisional : And therefore since no Bull of Confirmation was ever obtain’d, all these Provisional Powers were Null and Void, when the Confirmation was ask’d and deny’d : As all the Historians of that time agree it was : And this was so suitable to P. *Paul* the IVth’s Temper and Principles, that no Doubt is to be made of his persisting stedfastly in that Resolution.

I know there was a Mercenary Writer found in King *James*’s Reign, who studied to lay all People asleep, in a secure Persuasion of their Titles to those Lands. He pretends there was a Confirmation of all that *Poole* did, sent over to *England*. He brings indeed some Proof that it was given out and be-
F
heved,

lieved, which might be a part of the Fraud to be used in that Matter. But as no such thing appears in the Bullary; so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed supports this by an Argument that destroys it quite: For he tells us, that two Year after this, Secretary *Petre* had a particular Bull, confirming him in his Possession of some Church Lands. This shews, that either that Person, who was Secretary of State, knew that no Confirmation was sent over, so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular Bull for securing his own Estate; or whatever might be in *Poole's* Power, he might think such a general Transaction, which the necessity of that time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to, than while that Necessity continued.

General Treaties and Transactions have had such a Fate that few will trust to them. The Spirit of the Church, as well as the Spirit of a Treaty, will be prefer'd to the Words of all *Transactions*. Have not we seen in our own Days, an Edict that was passed with all Solemnity possible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable, yet recalled with this very Preamble, That it was made in Compliance to the Necessity

Necessity of that time, and on Design to bring those, that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it, into the Bosom of the Church. There is so much in the Canon Law against all Sacrilege, and all Alienations of what is once dedicated to God; that tho' some Canonists may have carried the Plenitude of the Papal Power so far, as to reach even to this, which that hired Writer builds on; yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whensoever the Papacy has Strength enough to set aside all the Settlement then made, they will find sufficient Grounds in Law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The Princes of *Germany*, whose Settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any Treaty, with either Emperour or Popish Princes, with relation to the Church Lands, of which they possessed themselves; but to the Treaties and Guaranties into which they enter'd with one another: And so they are engag'd by their Faith, and by their mutual Interests to maintain one another and themselves in their Possessions: Nor does it appear that a Papal Bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary the Pope's Legates protested against them, and, as will appear afterwards,

wards, *Charles* the Vth's Confessor refus'd to give him Absolution, for his consenting to Edicts of that sort. If the Necessity of the Time makes it necessary to maintain that Settlement, so long it will be maintain'd, and no longer.

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, that same Pope did, soon after our Ambassadors were sent to him, by a Bull, dated the 12th of *July*, 1555, within three Weeks after the *English* Ambassadors had their Audience, condemn all the Alienations of Church Lands, and even all Leases for one or more Lives, or for a Term longer than three Years: This he extends to all Cathedrals, Monasteries and Hospitals, and annuls all Leases, Grants, Exchanges, Mortgages and Obligations of Lands, Castles, Towns and Cities, even tho' made by Popes themselves, or by their Authority and Order, and by the Presidents, Prelates, or Rectors of Churches, Monasteries, or Hospitals, of what Rank and Dignity soever, Cardinals by Name being expressed, that were done to the Prejudice of the Church, the Solemnities by Law required, not being observed: And that which was Null in the first making, but supply'd by subsequent

sequent Contracts, in what Form soever made, tho' by Proofs upon Oath, and by what length of time soever it may claim Prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null. And the Detainers of Goods, upon those Titles are requir'd to quit Possession, and to make full Satisfaction for what they have received, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by Ecclesiastical Censures, and pecuniary Punishments.

It is true, in all this *England* is not expressly named, and perhaps the Pope had the recovering from the Family of the *Farnese*, that which *Paul* the III^d had alienated to it, chiefly in his Eye: But the Words of this Bull do plainly take in the late Settlement in *England*: For tho' the *English* Ambassadors were then newly come to *Rome*, demanding the Confirmation of what *Poole* had done; yet no Exceptions are made for *England*: So it seems, it was intended by these general Words, put in on Design, to overthrow it. Now because this Matter is of such great Concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this Bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small piece of Instruction, to all who are possessed of
any

any Estates so alienated from Churches, Monasteries or Hospitals.

Upon the Conclusion of this Head, I cannot but take Notice of one Insinuation, that I hear some are not ashamed to make : That such a Resumption may be indeed a Prejudice to the Laity, but that the Clergy will be enriched by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary Hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning ; but since some have the Impudence to set it on foot, I must add that these are vain Hopes, as well as they are suggested on black Designs : For tho' the Church, take it in the Bulk, has immense Riches in the *Roman* Communion ; yet in no Church that ever I saw are the Parochial Clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable ; they are as the Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, kept at hard Labour, on a very poor Subsistence. The several Orders among them, the governing Clergy, and the outward Magnificence of their Churches and Services devours all that Treasure : So that the poor Clergy, even in that State of Celibate, have scarce necessary Sustenance, unless it be in some few Capital Cities, and in very vast Parishes in them : They are starved, to maintain

tain the Luxury and Vanity of others : This was the true Occasion of all the Poverty of the Parochial Clergy among us, to which some Remedies have been sought for, and to some degree found, ever since the Reformation was first settled among us.

But none of these things will move an insensible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but present Advantages : And so, that they may now support a luxurious and brutal Course of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are easily hired to betray their Religion, to sell their Country, and to give up that Liberty and those Properties, which are the present Felicities and Glories of this Nation. The giving them up, will be a lasting Infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest Curses of Posterity on such perfidious Betrayers of their Trust : By this they will bring Slavery on themselves (which they well deserve, being indeed the worst sort of Slaves) and entail it on the succeeding Generation.

I return to prosecute the Account of my Design in this Work. I went thorough those Volumes in the Cotton Library, of which I had only a transient View formerly ; and laid together all that

that I thought necessary to compleat it. I saw a great and a fair Prospect of such a Change ready to be made in *France*, as King *Henry* had made in *England*. Mr *Le Vassor* has, out of an Invaluable Collection of Original Papers that are in Sir *William Trumball's* Hands, published Instructions sent by the Duke of *Orleans* to the Princes of *Germany*, by which, as he declared himself a Protestant, so he gave in general Words good Hopes of his Father *Francis*. I found also both in Papers and Printed Books, that King *Henry* often reproached *Francis* for not keeping his Word to him; and in a long Dispatch of a Negotiation that *Paget* was imploy'd in with the Admiral of *France*, I saw further Evidence of this. I was by these Indications set on to see how far I could penetrate into that Secret.

I was by the favour of the Earl of *Dartmouth* admitted to a free search of the Paper Office, which is now in much better Order and Method, than it was above 30 Years ago, when I saw it last: And there, among other very Valuable Papers, I found the Copy of that solempn Promise that *Francis* made to *Henry*, minuted on the back by *Cromwell's* Hand, as a true Copy, in these Words: *An Instrument*

Instrument devised from the French King for his Justification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highness's first Marriage, and the Validity of the second.

“ By this he in exprefs Words condemns
 “ the Pope's Bull dispensing with the
 “ Marriage with Queen *Katharine*,
 “ which he, by the Unanimous Consent
 “ of those learned Men whom he had ap-
 “ pointed to Examine it, condemns as
 “ Incestuous and Unlawful, and reputes
 “ the Daughter born in it, Spurious and
 “ Illegitimate : And that the second Mar-
 “ riage with *Anne*, then Queen, was
 “ Lawful and Just, and that *Elizabeth*
 “ born of it, was lawfully born. And
 “ he promises to assist and maintain the
 “ King in this, against all the World.
 “ In this Instrument he owns King *Hen-*
 “ *ry*, to be, under God, the *Supreme*
 “ *Head of the Church of England*; and
 “ he affirms, that many of the Cardinals,
 “ in particular the late Cardinal of *Ancona*,
 “ and even Pope *Clement* the 7th him-
 “ self, did both to his Ambassadour and
 “ to himself at *Marseilles* plainly con-
 “ fess, that the Pope's Bull and the Mar-
 “ riage made upon it were null and void,
 “ and that he would have given a defini-
 “ tive Sentence in the Matter, if some

“ private Affections and human Regards
 “ had not hinder’d it. ” This makes
 me conclude, that he gave other Instru-
 ments of a further extent to King *Henry*,
 for failing in which, I find he was often
 reproached, tho’ this single Instrument
 is all that I could find out : But the Lord
Herbert reckons among the chief Causes
 of King *Henry*’s last Rupture with *Francis*,
 That he had not deserted the Bishop of
Rome, and consented to a Reformation,
 as he once promised.

I saw when I passed through *Zurick*,
 a Volume of Letters that passed between
Bullinger and those *English* Divines that
 had been so kindly entertained by him in
 that noble Canton : And by the Interposi-
 tion of my learned, judicious, and pious
 Friend Mr. *Turretin* of *Geneva*, Mr. *Otto*
 a worthy Professor there, has taken such
 Care, that Copies of them are procured
 for me ; in which we may see the Sense of
 those who revived our Reformation in
 Queen *Elizabeth*’s Time. Men who had
 been Abroad, and had seen all Things
 about them in a true Light, that saw in
 what the Strength of *Popery* lay, and
 what fortified or weakened the Body of
 the Reformed, were liker to have truer
 Views than can be expected from retir’d

or fullen Men, who have lived in a Corner, and have but a small Horizon.

It has been objected to me, that I have said little of Proceedings in Convocation, and of the Struggle that the Clergy made before they were brought to make the Submission, which has brought those Bodies under Restraints, that seem now uneasy to the Advocates for Church Power. I must confess I have been very defective here : I understood that the Books of Convocation were burnt: None of those great Men, under whose Direction that Work went on, knew any thing of those Discoveries, that have been of late made, so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet, now I have examined all that I could find of those Matters, I confess I am not enclined to expect much from the Assemblies of Clergymen. I have seen nothing in Church History to incline me to depart from *Gregory Nazianzen's* Opinion of those Assemblies: What has happened among our selves of late, has not made me of another Mind: And I will not deny, but that my Copiousness on these Matters, is in my own Opinion, one of the meanest parts of my Work. The wisest and worthiest Man in that Convocation, Archbishop

Bishop *Warham* was the Person that promoted the Submission the most. It was no Wonder if a corrupt Clergy, that made such ill Use of their Power, had no Mind to part with any Branch of it. Yet, since these things have been of late such a Subject of Debate among us, I have taken what Pains I could to gather all that is left of those Times, in such Copies, or rather Abstracts, as have been of late found in private Hands; only I will set down the Opinion of Sir *Thomas More*, the best Man of the Popish Side in that Age, of those Meetings.

“ He calls the Clergy’s assembling at
 “ the Convocation, by the Name of
 “ Confederacies. If they did assemble
 “ often, and there did such things for
 “ which such Assemblies of the Clergy
 “ in every Province thro’ all Christen-
 “ dom, from the beginning, were in-
 “ stituted and devised, much more
 “ good might have grown thereof, than
 “ the long Disuse can suffer us now
 “ to perceive. But all my Days, as far
 “ as I have heard, nor I suppose a good
 “ part of my Fathers neither, they
 “ came never together to Convocation,
 “ but at the Request of the King, and
 “ at such their Assemblies, concerning
 “ Spiritual

“ Spiritual Things, have very little
 “ done. Wherefore that they have
 “ been in that necessary part of their
 “ Duty so negligent, whether God suf-
 “ fer to grow to an unperceived Cause
 “ of Division, and grudge against them,
 “ God whom their such Negligence,
 “ hath, I fear me, sore offended, know-
 “ eth.

The Affinity of the Matter has led 1532
 me to reflect on a great Transaction,
 with Relation to the Church of *France*,
 which was carried on, and finally settled
 in the very time that King *Henry* was
 breaking with the Court of *Rome*. It
 was the Concordate that *Francis* the Ist
 made with Pope *Leo* the Xth. The
 King and the Pope came to a Bargain,
 by which they divided the Liberties of
 the *Gallican* Church between them, and
 indeed quite enslaved it. There are so
 many curious Passages in the Progress of
 that Matter, that I hope the opening
 these will be a very acceptable Enter-
 tainment to the Nation : And the ra-
 ther because in it this Nation will see
 what it is to deliver up the Essential Li-
 berties of a free Constitution to a Court,
 and to trust to the Integrity and Firm-
 ness of Courts of Justice, when an As-
 sembly

sembly of the States is no more necessary to the raising of Money, and the support of the Government. I know nothing writ in our Language, with Relation to this Matter, besides that Account I gave of it in a Book concerning the Regale. It was taken from a very exact History of that Transaction, that was written by Mr. *Pinsons*, printed *Anno 1666*: and that seemed to some very proper Judges to relate so much to our Affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the Nation more easily to throw off the Papal Authority. They saw what a filthy Merchandise the Court of *Rome* had made of the Liberties of the Neighbouring Church, taking Care only to secure their own Profits, and delivering up the rest to the Crown. The best Writers of that Church have on many Occasions lamented the Loss of their Liberties by that detestable Bargain, into which *Francis* his Necessities, wrought on by the Practices of the Court of *Rome*, drew him. “ By this the Church of “ *France* from being a Queen, became “ (as Bishop *Godeau* expresses it) a “ Slave: And he adds, Our Fathers “ have groaned, and all that love the “ Order

“ Order of the House of God will still
 “ groan, as long as Elections continue
 “ to be put down; so that we must
 “ needs enter into the Sanctuary by the
 “ way of the Court. In another Place,
 “ these Promotions have been always
 “ fatal to the Church, and the Bishops,
 “ that the Court has made, have been
 “ ordinarily the chief Advancers of
 “ Schisms, Heresies, and of the Op-
 “ pression of the Church: And he con-
 “ cludes, One cannot read *Nazianzen's*
 “ Verses of the Prelates of his Time,
 “ without being struck with Horrour,
 “ and forc'd to acknowledge that a Se-
 “ cular Temper is entirely contrary to
 “ the Episcopal Spirit. Of this a *Greek*
 Writer makes a severe Remark in the
 History of *Andronicus's* Reign, which
 may perhaps be as justly apply'd
 to other Reigns, telling what sort of
 Bishops were then made. “ Princes
 “ choose such Men to that Charge who
 “ may be their Slaves, and in all things
 “ obsequious to what they prescribe,
 “ and may lie at their Feet, and have
 “ not so much as a Thought contrary
 “ to their Commands. This Change
 in their Constitution has put an End
 not only to National but even to Pro-
 vincial

vincial Synods in that Kingdom. Some were indeed held upon the Progress that *Luther's* Doctrine was beginning to make in *France*, and others during the Civil Wars, in order to the getting the Council of *Trent* received in *France*. But now in the Space of 90 Years last past, these are no more brought together. The Assemblies of the Clergy meet only to give Subsidies, and to present their Grievances, but do not pretend to the Authority of a regular Synod: And tho' in the Year 1682 they drew up some Articles, yet these had their Authority only from the Severity of the King's Edict, till by a Transaction with the Court of *Rome* that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the Matters that do properly fall within this Introduction, it remains that I leave the Sense of the Subject of this, and of my two former Volumes upon the Consciences of my Readers. Can it be possible that any are so depraved, as to wish we had no Religion at all, or to be Enemies to the Christian Religion? Would these Men reduce us to be a sort of *Hottentots*? And yet this must grow to be the Effect of our being without
all

all Religion. Mankind is a Creature, by his Make and Frame disposed to Religion; and if this is not managed by true Principles, all the Jugglings of Heathenism would again take Possession of the World. If the Principles of Truth, Justice, Temperance, and of universal Love do not govern Men, they will soon grow Curses and Plagues to one another: And a Crew of Priests will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all Crimes, and to expiate the blackest Practises by some Rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that, if it is not believed to be reveal'd by God, it will not have Strength enough to resist those ill Inclinations, those Appetites and Passions, that are apt to rise up in our Minds, against its Dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian Religion that can give a Colour to Prejudices against it? The whole Complex of that Rule of Life which it prescribes, is so plainly suited to our Composition, both in our Souls and their Faculties, and in our Bodies, with relation to good Health, to Industry and long Life: and to all the Interests of Human Society, to the Order and Peace of the World, and to

the Truth and Love that are the Cements and Securities of the Body Politick ; that, without any labour'd Proof of its divine Original, these are such Characters, that they may serve to prove it is sent into the World by a Lover of Mankind ; who knew our Nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only safe but happy.

But when to all this we add the Evidence that was given at its appearing in the World : that he who was the first Author of it, and those, whom he employ'd first to propagate it, did, upon many Occasions, in full Day-Light, and in the Sight of great Multitudes, do things so far above the Powers of Nature, in such uncontested Miracles, that by these it evidently appear'd they were assisted by somewhat superiour to Nature, that could command it at Pleasure, here is the fullest Ground of Conviction possible. These things were written, publish'd and receiv'd in the Age, in which they were transacted : And those Writings have been preserv'd with great Care, and are transmitted down to us, at the Distance of above sixteen Ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed Standard of our Religion, and by them
we

we can satisfy our selves concerning all such Practises as have been made upon it, or such Inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those who take to themselves the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, would consider well if they think it is possible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all, and what the Consequences of that may prove; and then see if there is any Religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the Good of Mankind, as the true Christian Religion, reform'd among us.

As for those that do truly believe this Religion, and have an Ingenuous Sense and Taste of Liberty, can they admit a Comparison to be made between a Religion restrained to a fixed Standard, into which every one is admitted, to examine the Sense of it, in the best Method he can; and that which sets up another uncertain Standard of which they pretend to be the Depositories, I mean Traditions; and pretend further, they are the Infallible Expounders of it, and that the true Standard itself, is not to be expos'd to common View? That God is to be Worshipped in a Language not understood; that instead of a competent Provision to those who Labour in

this Work, the Head of them is to become a great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to dispose of Kingdoms and States, to Pardon Sins, and to Redeem Sinners out of the Miseries of a future State ; and that the Character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to Sense and Reason, a Priest by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of Miracles is nothing ; and who by these means have possessed themselves of an immense Wealth and a vast Authority.

These are all Things of so strange a Nature, and so contrary to the Genius and Design of the Christian Religion, that it is not easie to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Success in the World : But when Men's Eyes have been once open'd, when they have shaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Noose ; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been seen into, and the Sweetness of Liberty have been Tasted, it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to see so many looking back so tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned so heavily for so many Ages. They may soon see and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we enjoy

enjoy from these Impositions, and what
 their Misery is, that are condemned to
 them. It is not enough for such as un-
 derstand this matter, to be contented in
 their own Thoughts, with this, that
 they resolve not to turn Papists them-
 selves : They ought to awaken all about
 them, even the most ignorant and the
 most stupid to apprehend their Danger,
 and to exert themselves with their ut-
 most Industry, to guard against it, and
 to resist it. They ought to use all their
 Efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to
 pray to God for his Blessing upon them :
 If after all Men's Endeavours to prevent
 it, the Corruption of the Age, and the
 Art and Power of our Enemies, prove
 too hard for us, then, and not till then,
 we must submit to the Will of God, be
 silent, and prepare our selves for all the
 Extremities of Suffering and of Misery ;
 and if we fall under a Persecution, and
 cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glo-
 rify God, by bearing our Cross patient-
 ly. Illegal Sufferings are no more to
 be born, than the Violences of a Rob-
 ber : But if the Law comes once to be
 in the Hands of those Wicked Men,
 who will not only revive the Repealed
 Laws against Hereticks, but, if they can,
 carry

this Work, the Head of them is to become a great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to dispose of Kingdoms and States, to Pardon Sins, and to Redeem Sinners out of the Miseries of a future State ; and that the Character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to Sense and Reason, a Priest by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of Miracles is nothing ; and who by these means have possessed themselves of an immense Wealth and a vast Authority.

These are all Things of so strange a Nature, and so contrary to the Genius and Design of the Christian Religion, that it is not easie to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Success in the World : But when Men's Eyes have been once open'd, when they have shaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Noose ; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been seen into, and the Sweetness of Liberty have been Tasted, it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to see so many looking back so tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned so heavily for so many Ages. They may soon see and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we
 enjoy

enjoy from these Impositions, and what
 their Misery is, that are condemned to
 them. It is not enough for such as un-
 derstand this matter, to be contented in
 their own Thoughts, with this, that
 they resolve not to turn Papists them-
 selves : They ought to awaken all about
 them, even the most ignorant and the
 most stupid to apprehend their Danger,
 and to exert themselves with their ut-
 most Industry, to guard against it, and
 to resist it. They ought to use all their
 Efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to
 pray to God for his Blessing upon them :
 If after all Men's Endeavours to prevent
 it, the Corruption of the Age, and the
 Art and Power of our Enemies, prove
 too hard for us, then, and not till then,
 we must submit to the Will of God, be
 silent, and prepare our selves for all the
 Extremities of Suffering and of Misery ;
 and if we fall under a Persecution, and
 cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glo-
 rify God, by bearing our Cross patient-
 ly. Illegal Sufferings are no more to
 be born, than the Violences of a Rob-
 ber : But if the Law comes once to be
 in the Hands of those Wicked Men,
 who will not only revive the Repealed
 Laws against Hereticks, but, if they can,
 carry

carry their Cruelty up to the heighth of an Inquisition, then we must try by *the Faith and Patience of the Saints, to go through Fire and through Water*, and in all Things to be *more than Conquerors*.

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their Mouths, That *Popery* is not what it was before the Reformation; Things are much mended, many Abuses are detected, and Things are not so gross as they were then: And they tell us, that further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the Error of Proceeding severely with Hereticks, so that there is no Reason to apprehend the Return of such Cruelties, as were practised an Age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the Falshood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of *Luther's Breach*: It was occasion'd by the Scandalous Sale of Pardons and Indulgencies, which all the Writers of the *Popish* Side give up and acknowledge it was a great Abuse; so in the Countries where the Reformation has got an Entrance, or in the Neighbourhood of them, this is no
more

more heard of: And it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous Traffick was now no more practis'd. But of late that we have had Armies in *Spain* and *Portugal*, we are well assured that it is still carried on there, in the most bare-fac'd manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a Sale, is forbid by a Bull, But there is a Commissary in every Place, who manages the Sale, with the most infamous Circumstances imaginable. In *Spain*, by an Agreement with the Pope, the King has the Profits of this Bull; and it is no small Branch of his Revenue. In *Portugal* the King and the Pope go Shares: Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular Account of the Managing the Bull there; for as there is nothing so Impudent that those Men are ashamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please, where the Terror of the Inquisition is so severe a Restraint, that Men dare not whisper against any thing that is under that Protection.

A notable Instance of this has appear'd lately, when in the Year 1709, the Privateers of *Bristol* took the Galleon, in which they found 500 Bales of these Bulls, and 16 Reams were in a Bale: So
that

that they reckoned the whole came to 3840000. These Bulls are imposed on the People, and Sold, the lowest, at 3 *Ryals*, a little more than 20 *d.* But to some at 50 Pieces of Eight, about 11 *l.* of our Money, and this to be Valued according to the Ability of the Purchaser, once in two Years: All are oblig'd to buy them against Lent. Besides the Account given of this in the Cruising Voyage, I have a particular Attestation of it by Captain *Dampier*, and one of the Bulls was brought me Printed, but so, that it cannot be read. He was not concern'd in casting up the Number of them : but, he says, that there was such a vast Quantity of them, that they careen'd their Ship with them.

As for any Changes that may be made in Popery, it is certain, Infallibility is their Basis: So nothing can be altered where a Decision is once made : And as for the Treatment of Hereticks, there has been such a Scene of Cruelty of late open'd in *France*, and continued there, now almost 30 Years without Intermission; that even in the Kingdom, where Popery has affected to put the best Face on Things possible, we have seen a cruel Course of Severity, beyond any Thing

thing in History. I saw it in its first and sharpest Fury, and can never forget the Impression that made on me.

A Discovery lately made, shews what the Spirit of those at *Rome*, who manage the Concerns of that Religion is, even in a mild Reign, such as *Odishalci's* was; and we may well suppose that, because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a Spirit of Persecution. When the Abbey of *St. Gall* was taken in the late War in *Switzerland*, a Manuscript was found, that the Court of *Propaganda* ordered their Secretary to prepare for *Innocent* the 11th's own Use, which after his Death came into the Hands of Cardinal *Sondrato*, who was Abbot of *St. Gall*, and so at his Death left this Book there. It gives a particular Account of all the Missions they have in all the Parts of the World; and of the Rules and Instructions given them, with which I hope those worthy Persons, in whose Hands this valuable Book is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the World. The Conclusion of it, is an Address to the Pope, in which they lay his Duty before him, from two of the Words in the New Testament, directed to St.

Peter.. The first was, *Feed my Sheep*, which obliged him not only to feed the Flock, that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those Sheep into it, that were not of that Fold. But the other Word was addressed to him by a Voice from Heaven, when the Sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of Beasts, of which some were unclean, *rise Peter kill and eat* to let all see, that it is the Duty of the great Pontiff to rise up with Apostolical Vigilance, to kill and to extinguish, in the Infidels, their present Life, and then to eat them, to Consubstantiate their false and brutal Doctrine into the Verity of our Faith. There is an Affectation in these last Words suitable to the Genius of the *Italians*. This Application of these two Passages, as containing the Duties of a Pope, was formerly made by *Baronius*, in a flattering Speech, to encourage Pope *Paul* the 5th in the War he was designing against the *Venetians*.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the Fears of Popery wear out of our Thoughts, they are never a-sleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their Designs against us. *Popery* is *Popery* still ; acted by a Cruel and Persecuting

secuting Spirit ; and with what Caution soever they may hide or disown some Scandalous Practises, where Hereticks dare look into their Proceedings, and lay them open ; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their Mouth against them ; and therefore we see what Reason we have to be ever watching and on our guard against them.

This is the Duty of every single Christian among us ; but certainly those Peers and Commoners whom our Constitution has made the Trustees and Depositories of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, are under a more particular obligation, of watching carefully over this sacred Trust, for which they must give a severe account in the last day, if they do not guard it against all Danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the Fences and Outworks of it, or suffer Breaches to be made on any of them ; if they suffer any part of our Legal Establishment to be craftily undermin'd ; if they are either absent or remiss, on Critical Occasions ; and if any Views of Advantage to them-

selves prevail on them, to give up or abandon the Establishment and Security of our Religion : God may work a Deliverance for us another way, and if it seem good in his Eyes, he will deliver us ; but they and their Families shall perish, their Names will rot, and be held in Detestation ; Posterity will Curse them, and the Judgments of God will overtake them, because they have sold that which was the most Sacred of all Things, and have let in an Inundation of Idolatry, Superstition, Tyranny and Cruelty, upon their Church and Country.

But in the last place, those who are appointed to be the *Watchmen*, who ought to give warning, and to *lift up their Voice as a Trumpet*, when they see those Wolves ready to break in and devour the Flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make, if they neglect their Duty ; much more if they betray their Trust : If they are so set on some smaller Matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their Danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it ; the guilt of those Souls who have perished by their Means, *God will require at their Hands*, if they, in the View of
 any

any Advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out Day and Night: They will fall under the Character given by the Prophet, of the Watchmen in his Time. *They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: Yea they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough: And they are Shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: That say, come, I will fetch Wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong Drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant.*

This is a lively Description of such Pastours as will not so much as study Controversies, and that will not know the Depths of Satan; that put the Evil Day far off, and as the Men in the Days of Noah or Lot, live on at their Ease, satisfying themselves in running round a Circle of dry and dead Performances; that do neither awaken themselves nor others. When the day of Trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their Spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the Tide: The Cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is
 Ruin

Ruin and a Desolation. I hope they will seriously reflect, on the few particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and see what Weight may be in them, and look about them, to consider the Dangers we are in, before it is too late: But what can be said of those, who are already going into some of the worst parts of Popery. It is well known, that, in practice, the Necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Priestly Absolution, with the Conceit of the Sacrifice of the Mass, are the most gainful parts of Popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the World to it. The Independence of the Church on the State, is also so contended for, as if it were on Design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensable Necessity of the Priesthood to all Sacred Functions is carried in the Point of Baptism further than Popery: Their Devotions are openly recommended, and a Union with the *Gallican* Church has been impudently proposed; the Reformation and the Reformers are by many daily vilified, and that Doctrine, that has been most universally maintained by our best Writers, I mean the Supremacy of the Crown, is on many occasions

Arraigned

Arraigned : What will all these Things end in ! and on what Design are they driven ! alas it is too Visible.

God be thanked there are many among us that stand upon the *Watch Tower*, and that give faithful Warning ; that stand in the *Breach*, and make themselves a *Wall for their Church and Country* ; that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those Judgments that seem to hasten towards us : They search into the Mystery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that Mass of Corruption, that is in Popery. They have another Notion of the Worship of God, than to dress it up as a splendid Opera : They have a just Notion of Priesthood, as a Function that imports a Care of Souls, and a Solemn performing the Publick Homage we owe to God ; but do not invert it to a Political piece of Craft, by which Men's Secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a Tyranny, that reaches to Men's Souls as well as to their Worldly Concerns. In a Word, they consider Religion in the Soul, as a secret Sense of divine Matters, which purifies all Men's Thoughts, and governs all their Words
and

and Actions : And in this Light, they propose it to their People, warning them against all Dangers and against all Deceivers of all sorts : Watching over them as those that must give an Account, to the *Great Bishop of Souls, feeding the Flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them Overseers*, ready to lay down their Lives for them, looking for their Crown from the *Chief Shepherd when he shall appear*.

May the Number of these good and faithful Servants encrease daily more and more ; may their Labours be so blessed, that they may see the Travail of their Soul and be satisfied ; and may many by their Means, and by their Example be so awakened, that they may resist even to Blood, striving against Sin, and against the Man of Sin : And may I be of that number, labouring while it is Day, and ready when the Night comes, either to lie down and rest in the Grave, or if God calls me to it, to Seal that Doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty Years, with my Blood : May his holy Will be done, so I may but glorify him in my Soul and Body, which are his.

F I N I S.